

FREEDOM CONTACTS

page

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review section is Saturday June 25 (for issue no. 13 Sat. July 9) and for No. 12 News section Monday July 4. Please note this date for entries for Contact Column (and if possible let us have them earlier).

NEXT DESPATCHING date is Thursday 7 July. Come and help from 4 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday 4 - 8 pm for folding session and informal get together.

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH Mike Sheehan, 59 North Parade, Aberystwyth, Dyfed. Anarchists in other parts of Wales interested in federation please contact.

BOLTON contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton. CORRECT Tel. no is 387516.

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephan, 41 York Street, Cambridge.

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY Peter Corne, c/o Students Union University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EXETER Geoff Minshull, 129 Fore Street, Exeter (tel. 33084)

LEAMINGTON & Kenilworth c/o 42A Bath St, Leamington Spa

LEEDS Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7.

LEICESTER New address c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester

MANCHESTER Contact AT on 061-224 3028

NEWCASTLE Anarchist Group 91 Beaconsfield St. Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN

OXFORD Martin Harper, Keble College, PORTSMOUTH, Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ALBANS John Morton, 21 St. Peter's Rd, St. Albans, Herts

STOKE Anarchists 52 Campbell Rd. Stoke-on-Trent

SWANSEA - no contact at present

THAMES VALLEY Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd. Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974)

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist Groups:

Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533)

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave, N.5 9tel. 359 5794)

Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House Tulse Hill, SW2 (tel. 674 6402)

Clapham: 3 Belmont Rd SW4 (tel. 622 8961)

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd. E.6. (tel. 552 3985)

Freedom, 848 Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249)

Hackney Black & Red, 84 Brougham Rd. E.8. (tel. 249 7042)

Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey (tel. 549 2564)

South London College An Gp. c/o Students Union, South London Coll., Knights Hill, West Norwood, SE 27 (tel. 674 7886)

Zero, phone 553 6287

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation: Aberdeen: Blake c/o APP 163 King Street. Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place. Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union Street (557 1532)

Glasgow: Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow G22 (tel. 336 7895)
Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Belgrave Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2809

Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083 Libertarian Soc. Fed. of Aust. c/o 4 Roosevelt St. Reservoir, Vic. 3073 (branches other areas) New South Wales: P. Stones, P.O. Box 26, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney Fed. of Australian Anarchists, Box 92 Broadway, 2007 Australia

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted at: P.O. Box 2042 AUCKLAND
P.O. Box 22-607 CHRISTCHURCH.

International Books, 123 Willis St. Wellington Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin

U.S.A.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, G.P.O., New York 10001

S.R.A.F.: Freespace/Alternate U, 339 Lafayette St., New York City NY 10012

MISSOURI: Columbia Mo. 64201

GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden: ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwäbisch Hall, Germany

MEETINGS

Sunday 26 JUNE:

London: "The CNT, the Spanish Elections, and What is the CNT?" at The Spanish House (Casa de Espana) 317 Portobello Rd. w.10, followed by debate & Spanish Fiesta (with buffet). 5 p.m. (org. by CNT)

London. National Abortion Campaign Benefit at Dingwalls, Camden Lock N.W.1. with Joanne Kelly, Carol Grimes, Quintessence II. Doors open 7.30, licensed. £ 1.50 (claimants £ 1 with cards).

Bolton: N.W. Anarchist Federation mtg. 2.30 pm at 6 Stockley Av. (tel. 387516)

Thursday 30 JUNE

London. "Anarchism and Socialism". Albert Meltzer visits Hampstead branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. Questions & Discussion. All welcome at "The Enterprise" pub, Chalk Farm High Road, (opposite Chalk Farm tube and The Roundhouse. Commencing 8 pm Friday 1st JULY:

London. Benefit for Rising Free and Bread and Roses, with the Kosmin Band and Dire Tribe. Disco, food, books. Bar 8-12. 50p claimants students, £ 1 others. at Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, N.5.

Sunday 3 JULY:

Free George Ince Campaign, March, assemble Tower Hill 2 p.m. (Further information from the campaign, 40 Thornfield House, Rosefield Gdns, London E.14, tel. 987 6542).

BIRMINGHAM Libertarian Socialists meet Sundays at 8 pm at the Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. (Moor St. Station)

FARE FIGHT Weekly mtgs. at Squatters Action

Council offices, 5 Huntley St. WCL every Thursday at 8 pm

LAND FOR THE PEOPLE mtgs. every Tuesday at 8A Leighton Crescent, London NW5 (Kentish Town). Upstairs at No.8. Tel. 267 1184 or 485 3572

NORTH WEST Anarchist Fed. For mtgs write 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood (tel. 387516)

DESIRERS

A anarchist of substantially Tolstoyan mind seeks like minds in London. Also seeking London anarchists of ANY tendency whose objection to the nudity taboo is not merely a matter of cold principle but—burning resentment. Please reply in writing only (a SAE would oblige) to Desmond Hunter, 4 Swinton Street, London WC1 (or contact at the "Love v. Power" mtg. every Sunday 3 - 5.30 pm at Speakers' Corner). PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES liberation group. Enquiries write c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

SUMMER holidays: Two French comrades want somewhere to sleep, eat and meet other anarchists, and would also like help to "find a little job". Write Jean-Pierre Laudignon, 10 rue Henri Cavallier, 47500 FUMEL, France.

PRISONERS

Mike Murphy (C01039) HM Prison, Ashwell, Oakham, Leics.

John Nightingale (336645) HM Prison Parkhurst nr. Newport, Isle of Wight.

DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Military Detention Centre Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY (life sentences). Defence Groups: London c/o 29 Grosvenor Avenue, N.5. Dublin: 155 Church Rd., Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire.

PRESS FUND

2 - 15 JUNE 1977

TEDDINGTON: H.C. 49p; LEEDS: J.S. 25p;

SHEFFIELD: T. £ 2; LONDON E4: S. & R.G. 50p; LOS ANGELES: S.S. £ 11.40; LEEDS: G.H.L. 27p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; ILFRACOMBE I.L. 40p.

TOTAL: £ 17.51

PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED: £ 665.20

TOTAL TO DATE £ 682.71

KIDS

KIRKDALE is a Neill-inspired parent co-operative dayschool in Sydenham, South London. Parents interested in libertarian education should ring 778 0149. We have room for children aged 3 - 11 years. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.25.

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FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

JUNE 25 '77

VOLUME 38 NO 12

FIFTEEN PENCE

NEUTRON BOMB p.4

TOWARDS A POOR SCHOOL p.9

GRUNWICK NOT ANTI-UNION... JUST NON-UNION!

"This firm is not anti-union, just non-union. The workers here don't want to join a union and they have the right to say No. These buggers on the picket line are no longer Grunwick's concern." Mr George Ward (Managing Director of Grunwick, the film processing firm).

DURING the last few weeks the wide publicity given to the violence on the picket lines has threatened to push the more important issues into the background.

Back in August 1976, Jayaben Desai, treasurer of the present strike committee, who was then working as a sorter, walked out of the firm complaining of rudeness by the management towards her. She was followed by her son and six other workers, one of whom was sacked for a trivial offence. Soon afterwards they joined the APEX union (Association of Professional Executive Clerical and Computer Staff) and were quickly followed by a further 120 workers on strike.

Before the strike started, pay at the factory in North London was £ 25 for a 30 hour week and £ 28 for 40 hours. (This has since increased by 25 per cent, due basically to the pressure of the strikers, and to a common tactic to stop workers joining a union). Overtime is compulsory and the two weeks' annual holiday cannot be taken during the summer months when business is at its height (perhaps as many as 50,000 rolls of film per week). "Even if you wanted to go to the toilet you had to ask the manager," said one worker. "They put the fear of God into you."

There are many reasons why the firm has been able to continue for so long (44 weeks as against the 23 weeks of the Trico strike) without serious interruption in production. Perhaps the most important is a lack of effective trade union support and help in picketing. Last month six pickets were found guilty of obstruction but acquitted on appeal, the police having to pay the costs. The first of several "unusual" incidents in

the dispute took place when the local chief inspector, "retired" following complaints about police prejudice in favour of management, was immediately taken on by Grunwick as personnel manager! Things had been very quiet on the picket lines until now (even three Government ministers had joined them). However, the recent scenes (coupled with the prospect of help from Scottish miners, a group not noted for their subtlety) have threatened to equal those of the Saltley coke depot in 1972. Over 150 pickets have been arrested and many police and pickets injured.

The measure of police efficiency can be gauged by the fact that in the period between 13-18 June arrests were being made so indiscriminately that they included those of news reporters and "official" photographers, including one from the BBC. Most of the people arrested returned to the picket lines immediately following a brief court appearance. However, the treatment of the secretary of the strike committee, Mahmood Ahmed, shows that now the police are deliberately picking on prominent figures in the dispute. Instead of allowing him to return to the picket lines, as all the others have done, the police took him to Willesden Green magistrates court. There the magistrates were to hear police applications for conditions of bail (which would have meant Ahmed not being allowed within half a mile of the factory) before he was allowed legal representation. A solicitor from Brent Law Centre advised him and another picket and they were released. There have been widespread complaints against the heavy handed tactics of the police (who have included members of the Special Patrol Group) from groups including the Haldane Society and Brent Trades Council.

The second most important reason why the firm has been able to continue for so long is that most of the business is done through the post. The firm offers cheaper prices than established names



I only give the example of the Government legislation in that both sides are caught in a double-bind situation. The union and workers struggle for recognition which is theirs by legal right, yet can be defied by a small firm. On

PORTUGUESE ANARCHIST PRESS

Since the 25th of April 1974 Portuguese Revolution, more and more anarchist papers are being published in Portugal. Our Portuguese comrades are eager to receive news and publications from all over the world (and financial assistance if possible...) The following is the present list of publications kicking and alive in Portugal:

A ACCÃO - Publication of libertarian students in TOMAR. *

A BATALHA - Anarcho Syndicalist monthly. address: Apartado 5085 LISBOA 5.

A IDEIA - specifically anarchist monthly. address: Apartado 3122 LISBOA 3

APOIO MÚTUO - Journal of the Anarchist collective in EVORA (Alentejo) *

FOLHA ANARQUISTA - published by the Union of Anarchist Groups in Lisbon *

O ANARQUISTA - Journal of libertarian group S. Puig Antich of LEIRIA *

SABOTÁGEM - Publication from the anarchist group "Ferro E Fogo" Lisbon *

TERRA LIVRE - Anarchist publication from Immigrant workers in Holland.

Post Box 51217 AMSTERDAM .

VOZ ANARQUISTA - Monthly publication. address: Apartado 40 ALMADA.

ACÇÃO DIRECTA - Monthly publication. address: Apartado 21191 LISBOA 2.

The publications with * should be contacted as follows: Name of the paper c/o J. LOLA - F.A.R.P. - F.A.I. Apartado 5 ALMADA (Portugal)

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INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that the United States is about to begin production of the neutron bomb will probably not produce world-wide revolution and the destruction of the State system, though it undoubtedly ought to. The human mind is a strangely conservative mechanism, one which is strongly resistant to the notion that anything can exist which does not exist already, or happen if it has not already happened. Anarchism is dismissed by the deluded because it is not the present system, and no doubt the threat posed by the neutron bomb will be dismissed because the weapon has not yet been used. Once it is used, no doubt it will be accepted precisely because it has been used—thereby becoming one of the unalterable "facts of life".

The neutron bomb which, needless to say, Government scientists have been at work on for years in America, works by releasing vast quantities of neutron which kill soldiers and civilians over a wide range, which producing markedly less blast and heat than the nuclear weapons at present deployed by the Americans in Europe. This effect means that buildings and vehicles are left intact, while their occupants are killed. The massive neutron release of the bomb attacks the central nervous system bringing 'almost immediate incapacitation' and leading to death in anything from a few hours to a few days.

A weapon such as this brings nuclear warfare back into the realm of what strategists euphemistically call 'tough negotiation'. The problem with blast-based nuclear weapons is that they tend to be rather destructive of property, and since the protection of property is what government is all about, even statesmen have been known to show concern at their use. The neutron bomb kills people—which feature rather lower in the State-centric consciousness. Whereas the present-day nuclear arsenal if (or rather, when) used would destroy vast numbers of factories, where the good things of life, so necessary to the well-being of the power élite and the parasite classes who feed on its drop-pings, are produced, the neutron bomb would only kill workers, who are always in over-abundant supply and whose incessant demands to be fed and clothed are a constant obstacle to the 'efficient' running of the country. To the benign technocracy, people are expendable; machines are not. For the military-political elements therefore, the neutron bomb is a godsend.

Since 1945, the Western European allies have not been able to play soldiers properly. Due to the disturbingly vandalistic effects of nuclear weapons, they have been forced to forego a full scale bloodbath and make do with less satisfying sideshows such as those in Aden and Ulster. The American war in Vietnam was a bit disappointing, as well as being a fairly exclusively Pacific-based war. Not everyone who wanted to was able to get into the game. This sort of restriction is rather depressing for the military top brass, who realise that they will never get a mention from Lord Chalfont unless they do something fairly messy.

With the advent of the neutron bomb, all this has changed. There has never been any

doubt that a war in Europe would involve the use of nuclear weapons by N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Pact. N.A.T.O.'s 'conventional' forces are vastly inferior, at least in sheer quantity, to those of the Soviet Empire, and both sides know it. All the talk of N.A.T.O. possessing the capability for 'flexible response'—that is, being able to meet an attack at whatever level of force it is launched—is pure fantasy. Since N.A.T.O. could not hold a determined Soviet assault using her conventional forces, it would quickly have to resort to the use of 'tactical' or battlefield nuclear weapons. These are often referred to as being 'clean', 'mini-nukes'. It is as well to remember that a 'tactical' nuclear weapon is equivalent in blast and fall-out to the weapons used against Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The weapons are therefore so destructive that they not only encourage immediate escalation to the use of full-scale 'strategic' nuclear weapons, but they also destroy buildings and render regions uninhabitable for years. Effects such as these would obviously interrupt production, which being for the bosses' benefit, is obviously unacceptable. To make matters worse, since the Soviet rulers realise that N.A.T.O. is committed to using nuclear weapons almost immediately in the event of war, there is obviously no point in postponing their own use of these devices. This, understandably, is even less acceptable to the western power élites. The problem for the military, therefore, has been: how to have a war without bringing about the massive destruction of property which all good statesmen abhor. The answer is the neutron bomb. Kill the people, spare the buildings.

The neutron bomb offers the possibility of allowing the military Peter Pans to play toy soldiers for real. A 'people only' weapon means that a large-scale war can be fought in which vast numbers of soldiers die—no problem that, since this is what soldiers are designed to do—and civilians are cut down in droves—that will teach the buggers to moan about defence expenditure! American scientists have also been experimenting on monkeys recently, to determine how long a soldier can carry on fighting after receiving a lethal dose of radiation. The results indicate that an hour or two is likely. This means that the neutron bomb need not even make the air force and armoured corps redundant—they can carry on for an hour before they have to call it a day—and only soldiers and unemployment statistics need suffer!

It would be nice to think that this article is alarmist. It is not. No ultimate weapon in history has ever gathered dust unused. The neutron bomb will be used one day—it may even make its débüt on a small scale quelling 'civil disorders'. The armoury of the state is not getting any smaller. And they say that anarchists are extremists! They accuse us of having violent inclinations! Even people who are not anarchists have realised that the next major war will be the war of the generals against humanity, and the advent of the neutron bomb brings the date of that war that much nearer.

As if to show the latent intent behind the weapon more clearly, the funds for the production of the neutron bomb are being allocated as part of the \$10,200 millions 'public works' appropriations bill now before Congress.

Those who argue against anarchism often turn to Hobbes for philosophical support. Hobbes argued that the state is necessary to protect the members of the community from individual or collective violence. He did not shrink from reaching the logical conclusion: that the state cannot ask a citizen to die for it, since to do so would violate its *raison d'être*. The modern warfare-state, however, not only expects this—it will even forcibly conscript cannon-fodder when it so desires—but actively prepares weapons which are expressly designed only to kill the citizen-victims of the state ideal, its own citizens included. The existence of the state is a death sentence hanging over mankind. The destruction of all states is a necessity if the species is to survive. We cannot wait for history to prove us right, 'history' could end any day at the touch of a button. The effort has to be made here and now. There should be no such thing as a 'quiet anarchist'. Speak up—before mankind is silenced forever.

JOHN DRAKE.

GREENPEACE

The Greenpeace march in opposition to the further development of the nuclear energy industry was not very well attended, but a large number of leaflets were handed out and read.

Greenpeace is smaller and less militant here than across the Atlantic where it has launched some imaginative and spectacular demonstrations. (Most recently the group has hired a minesweeper and acquired an ex-US Navy submarine chaser to harass the whale fishing fleets. In the past members of Greenpeace have sailed boats into nuclear testing zones).

The lack of support for the march on the part of the so-called revolutionary left recalled the fact that it has been virtually ignoring the issue of nuclear power. Yet the implications are potentially more dangerous than any other issue, both ecologically and politically. The development of a nuclear powered technology presupposes the rise of a new technocratic élite accompanied by a vast increase in all the present paraphernalia of political control. The dangers of nuclear power, particularly of fission power, could well be an excuse for the further strengthening of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The left has to make a choice between high energy-high consumption-bureaucratic-totalitarian society and equitable, decentralised, participatory society with its alternative technology. This is, indeed, the crucial choice of our time.

RECENTLY IN an East Anglian town there could be noticed a freshly chalked up graffiti 'Poxy American Bastards Go Home'. It was rather less succinct than the adjectiveless objurgation of the 'fifties but its message was clear although misspelt in the original. A few weeks later the *East Anglian Daily Times* carried a letter from a Suffolk hamlet called Friday Street complaining of a proposed extension of the Bentwaters Air Base which would destroy 280 acres of forest to make way for the erection of 46 concrete aircraft shelters.

This followed one month after the crashing of a bombing plane on Huntingdon with its resultant destruction and loss of life which instituted the Campaign for the Demilitarization of East Anglia. All this had an echo of far-off campaigns and struggles of long ago, of CND and the Committee of 100, of 'Ridgeway Go Home' and the numerous efforts to protest against nuclear warfare and the NATO pact.

Suffolk), after an interview with Minister of Defence under-secretary RAF Mr. James Wellbeloved, that the Bentwaters scheme will go through 'no matter how vigorous a campaign is waged against the controversial scheme' reports the E.A.D.T.: 'In fact the residents of Friday Street can count themselves lucky because the Ministry of Defence considered acquiring the hamlet as part of the project, Sir Harwood revealed. "He [the Under-Secretary] confirmed that the Forestry Commission had already agreed in principle to hand over the large expanse of forest."

"Sir Harwood said," continues the E.A.D.T. "The only way it will not go through is if they close down Bentwaters and Woodbridge air-bases." This proposal to reinforce defence of air-bases is to be carried on at all air bases (British as well as American) throughout Britain.

Sir Harwood, who is chairman of the House of Commons Select Committee on

'Nothing is going to stop it'?

Much has happened since then. The Test-Ban Treaty was signed—some think a credit for CND. (Others say it only thrust tests underground to be a greater menace to water supplies.) It outlawed tests in Antarctica—and spread them more widely. Now President Carter with the deceptive promise of a new broom has promised a cessation of the anti-communist stance and a check on nuclear proliferation—by others!

Meanwhile back at the Pentagon—and Moscow—preparations went on, new and more terrible devices were introduced: neutron bombs, hydrogen bombs. Now the atom bomb with its destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is almost a 'conventional' weapon. It reached such a pitch that the delicate balance of terror was in danger of being destroyed. Hence the uneasy conferring on the sketchy 'peace' of the S.A.L.T. talks which are continuing.

Throughout all this talk of peace the gobbledegook of Pentagon and Kremlin apparently reached the understanding that the aim was to achieve sufficient military power to be able to make (when desirable) a pre-emptive strike

—preferably from a forward base in East Anglia or East Germany, as the case may be. The object is to have bases as far from the protagonists as possible. These bases must be heavily protected in case he makes the first (pre-emptive) strike, then you must have second-strike capability to hit back at him after your or anybody else's cities have been destroyed. Hence Friday Street's problem.

The correspondence about Bentwaters and Friday Street was followed on June 17 by a statement from Sir Harwood Harrison (Conservative MP for Eye,

Defence Spending, stated "We have got to defend our country against warlike Russians. All of this is caused by the Russians with the large amount of aggressive re-armament which they have been carrying out in their armed forces over the past year."

Speaking directly of Friday Street he said, "It is a very, very hard luck story but it is demanded of us if we are to put out people and our country in a state of preparedness."

However, the correspondents from Friday Street seemed to be chiefly concerned with the preservation of rural amenities and the maintenance of property values and like good bourgeois they accept Sir Harwood Harrison's and Mr. James Wellbeloved's pliant interpretation of N.A.T.O.'s demands, their chief demurraance seeming to be that the USAF should, like gypsies, 'go somewhere else'.

It is this narrow viewpoint which can only widen itself to a blind destructive patriotism which is the province of the bourgeois of the Suffolk commuter-belt. There are no innocent bourgeois and the means of NATO and the fanatical weapon system development lead to the end of nuclear death and destruction for all.

Despite Harrison and Wellbeloved, what can stop the spread of the military-industrial complex is active refusal and non-cooperation both on the part of property-owners and of the workers who, up to now, have spinelessly acquiesced in the slow staining spread of military bases both in the Western and Eastern blocs.

Are we going to stop it before it stops us?

JACK ROBINSON.

CONTACT: C. D. E. A.
41, YORK STREET,
CAMBRIDGE.

Coffee & Coyotes

The *Guardian* of June 8th carried a report about the Emiliano Zapata collective farm in Southern Mexico. I am not sure what sort of collective this is. As we well know, there are "collectives" à la Russian style and collectives Spanish Revolution style.

The collective has secured a good price for its coffee and this has secured for them some of the consumer goods we take for granted.

The farming policy in the area was to be self-sufficient in beans and corn and to grow coffee for sale. Now many small producers are turning over virtually all their land to coffee production as the price increases.

In between the small producers and the packers are a group known politely as middlemen or, more picturesquely as 'coyotes'. They used to offer low prices and high-interest loans, or force the peasants to mortgage all of their crops. "A common practice was to ply the Indians with drink, then take their crops at knock-down prices," says Jorge Ramirez representative of the Mexican Coffee Institute in the area of the Zapata Collective. (*The Guardian* 8.6.77)

However, the Institute and the Union of Economic Coffee Producers, formed 2 years ago, are trying to reduce the significance of the "coyotes".

The experience of farmers' cooperatives is that they are generally dominated by and are agents of the large producer, and as far as one sees may even adversely affect the interests of the small man.

The temptation to use all of one's land in a poor peasant community to grow one attractive crop must be immense. This carries significant agricultural, and in the long term economic, disadvantages. The bulk of coffee is probably purchased by a few large buyers who then start to dominate the primary producers. The producers having been induced to turn over the major part of their land to one crop lose the independence that self-sufficiency gives them. Then they have to buy in food from outside. The agricultural problems of mono-cropping are well known in pest and disease risks and increasingly in having to rely on expensive chemical control of those diseases.

Thus the peasant steps onto the treadmill of capitalist dependence. It is to be hoped that the Zapataist tradition of suspicion of governmental and large economic institutions will enable the Mexican collectives to avoid this pitfall.

ALAN ALBON

The Stamp War

FOR THOSE WITH POOR MEMORIES

IN EXPLAINING the reason for abandoning Green Shield Stamps Sir John Cohen, president and founder of the supermarket Tesco, said "We will not be offering gimmicks, just good prices. We believe this is what people want today. Stamps were all right when they came in years ago when people wanted the excitement of them. But not now. We will get the people with us, I'm sure."

Shoppers are being offered price cuts of up to 25 per cent, according to a *Guardian* report (9.6.77) and the New-look Tesco "no gimmicks just good prices" will cost them £ 20 million, or so Tesco's managing director says. The first reaction of other supermarkets which give stamps is to offer even more stamps. 'International' is proposing to give away 500 million stamps in the next three weeks. "Double stamps on everything," their advertisements cry out. "The stamp give-away of the century." As anarchists we always welcome the sight of the capitalist tycoons falling out, and for a few weeks housewives can save a few pounds on their shopping bill. But it won't last long. There will be a few bankruptcies and a few take-overs and then back to the status quo. We have seen it all before, as the editorial which we are reproducing from *FREEDOM* of November 9, 1963 (that is, when Tesco and a few other members of the Distributive Trades Alliance—which was pledged not to engage in the stamp war—broke their pledge) only too clearly demonstrates. Sir John Cohen suggests that his company is in constant touch with the consumer. He knew when "people wanted the excitement" of stamps, "But not now." Rubbish! If you don't agree, read on and see what was being said in 1963!

* * *

Another War to Pay For!

A BUP news item from Tulsa (Oklahoma), last week informed the housewives of Britain that a second plane-load of trading stamps, 1,000 million of them was on its way to our shores. The invasion has started, the war of the stamps has been declared, or to put it in more concrete terms as does the *Observer*:

the stamps fracas is only a symptom of something more fundamental—a struggle for outright leadership of the British food market.

During the past five years, since Mr. ("Greenshield") Tomkins introduced his gimmick, we have witnessed what might be described as mere frontier skirmishes, by the small shopkeepers seeking to survive the onslaught of the chain stores and the supermarkets. And the small shopkeeper in urban areas has survived so far, and there is no doubt that the stamps gimmick has contributed. Mr. Tomkins who now has 18,000 satisfied customers (shopkeepers) declared in an interview with the *Herald* that

when we move into an area we guarantee that our stamps will bring the retailer a 30 per cent increase in turnover. We put it in writing.

But Mr. "Greenshield's" 18,000 retailers who have so far this year doled out 8,000 million stamps to their eager stamp-collecting housewives account for only 3 per cent of retail trade. So long as the giants, the Combines, the chain-stores remained aloof, clearly the trading stamps were a life-saver for the small shopkeeper, "something-for-nothing" for most housewives and a very profitable business for Mr. Tomkins. For the shopkeeper was handing over about 2½ per cent. of his turnover to Mr. Tomkins who in turn handed over some

of it in the form of gadgets to the housewife. Apart from Mr. Tomkins, and other stamp operators, who cannot lose (until, of course, there is "war" among the stamp operators themselves) the advantages both the shopkeepers and the public will enjoy are, by the very nature of capitalism, bound to be short-lived.

Capitalist enterprises, because they are concerned with profits are therefore monopolistic. They use competition as the means to that end; that is to wipe out, or to take-over their competitors. And when they can do neither they appear to accept the *fait accompli* by calling a truce and "fixing" the prices for the commodities or services they offer to the public. So long as demand exceeds supply these gangsters respect the agreements they enter into. But when they have to compete for markets, agreements are ignored and it's a question of the survival of the most enterprising, or the financially strongest among them. Up to last August the multiples had refused to be drawn into the trading stamps racket. To do so would have only meant feathering the nests of the Mr. Greenshields at their expense. The trouble is that some capitalists are more greedy than others and to satisfy their gargantuan appetites they must seek to be one move ahead of their rivals, and this, of course, may well involve breaking agreements. The "unity" of the giants was shattered when the Canadian financier Garfield Weston gave them three months notice of his intention to introduce stamps in the stores controlled by his Fine Fare group (which includes 300 of the 1,000 supermarkets operating in this country). He asked that other firms should reciprocate this

"courtesy", or he might feel relieved of any further obligation in respect of notice. Last week, without a day's notice, the Pricerite group introduce Greenshield stamps in their six supermarkets located in London and the South of England. And this was the cue for Mr. Weston to introduce the pink stamps of the American firm Sperry & Hutchinson in his group's 650 stores and supermarkets three weeks early and the reason for the hurried and expensive plane-loads of coupons from Tulsa, Oklahoma.

A spokesman for Pricerite said that his company was aware of the request made by Mr. Weston's group but since there had been no decision by the association on this request there was no obligation on other firms to follow the Fine Fare group's example. Furthermore, one of the reasons for his firm springing this surprise on everybody concerned, including their staff, was "the knowledge that other firms in the association were contemplating using trading stamps". We are glad to see confirmed the view, often expressed in *FREEDOM*, that it is a mistake to believe that the capitalists are united. And how vulnerable they would be if their workers were united!

The first casualties in a prolonged stamp war—which is a price-cutting war by another name—will be among the small shopkeepers who have neither the ammunition (large profit margins through bulk buying) nor the reserves (financial backing) to hold out for long in such a struggle. The next casualties will be the smaller groups who will sell themselves to the highest bidder on either side before they are squeezed out of business, and this will be followed by a cease fire, during which each side will seek to consolidate its position (for instance by opening up more supermarkets—the Weston Group have 150 sites, 50 of which are now being developed) while talks go on between the leaders for a peaceful settlement. And this means take-over bids without humiliation—that is, the golden handshake for the losers.

THE forces lined up against the small shopkeepers and the breakaway multiple stores in this stamp war are formidable. All the big guns—Boots, W.H.S., Victoria Wines, Express & United Dairies, Marks & Spencers, etc.—are behind the newly formed Distributive Trades Alliance, led by Lord Sainsbury and Mr. Malcolm Cooper, chairman respectively of the Sainsbury group and Allied Suppliers with 3,289 shops to do their bidding. Indeed the Alliance claims to rep-

resent 81 per cent. of the Membership of the Multiple Shops Federation covering a total of 37,536 shops. As we see it this is a war in which the greenshields and the pink stamps will be able to claim spectacular gains at the outset (with the public sharing some of the spoils) but the prospects are of a war of attrition—and whoever wins, the public, as in all wars, will have to pay.

So far as the Alliance is concerned the simplest way out would be for all its members to introduce stamps and in no time re-establish the *status quo ante*. Or at least until one rebel group countered by offering double the number of stamps to its customers. In due course the others would have to follow suit, and this process could go on for some time, to the delight of the housewives of Britain whose homes would be cluttered up with gadgets which, but for the stamp war, they would not have thought worth acquiring.

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Kirkdale School

Dear Comrades,
I was one of the founders of the school 12 years ago and was first recruited to the group by an Ad. in *Freedom*. The school is now in need of more support and pupils, since the number of people with libertarian ideas and spare enough time and/or cash to devote to the school has dwindled considerably. We hope that publicity may help, since we obviously need to reach a wider "constituency" than the immediate neighbourhood can provide. People are understandably very wary of committing their own children to anything other than conventional education, particularly if it involves a heavy commitment of time and money. But

it is worth it, as I know from the experience I have had with my older children.

Yours faithfully,
David L. Lyle.

in brief

According to an intellectual and of course leading member of the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee in Britain, it appears that even our own Bakunine, for many historians the "father" of modern anarchism, was indeed a Marxist! With such erudit leadership, surely it will not be long before the 30,000 or so Portuguese immigrant workers living in this country, inspired by their leader newly found

Marxism-Bakuninism

theory of scientific Marxism-Bakuninism, dramatically unleashed in Hotels, Restaurants, Hospitals, etc... a Socialist Revolution which will destroy to its foundations the Establishment of British Capitalism! You just wait, comrades! Since the 25th of April 1974, this new wave of Portuguese revolutionaries know what they are speaking about.

V Claude.

"A time there was, ere England's
griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained
its men.

—Oliver Goldsmith -
"The Deserted Village".

Food From Our Own Resources

A REPORT prepared and approved for publication came out during the first week of June, 1977. The *Sunday Times* Business Section of 5 June said:

"Prepared by agriculture's Little Neddy under the chairmanship of the Duke of Northumberland, the report reviews progress towards the Government's own targets laid down in its 1975 White Paper—Food from Our Own Resources.

"After two full years, the committee has decided that the industry is way off target. Production is 20% less than in 1974/75—the baseline year. Although economists at the National Farmers' Union estimate that two-thirds of this drop is caused by the past two years of drought 6-7% of the drop represents a real decline in production (almost 100,000 tons less pigmeat, 5% less beef and no increase in breeding cows or sheep), owing to a decrease in livestock numbers." → see column 3 (sorry.)

Land as Investment

In recent years the concentration of ownership into fewer hands has accelerated. This applies particularly to the best land. In fact there is to be an independent inquiry by the Minister of Agriculture into the ownership of prime British farmland by overseas buyers and City institutions such as insurance companies:

Farmers and owner-occupiers are worried that businessmen and City institutions will weaken the close-relationship between the traditional landowner or tenant farmer and his stock. The institutions reply that at a time of soaring production costs, only they have the resources to make farms efficient.

In the main, financial institutions have bought estates and negotiated leaseback and rent agreements with the farmer, who is left as manager. But recently, they have negotiated partnership deals whereby they get a proportion of the profit from production as well as the value of the investment in the land itself.

(Richard Norton-Taylor in
The Guardian 6.6.77)

The farmers and landowners however are only seeing the logical development of the centralist society they have so enthusiastically supported. The EEC aims to accelerate this process. The alienation of the agricultural worker will be as complete as that of his industrial brother as farming becomes a reflection of industry.

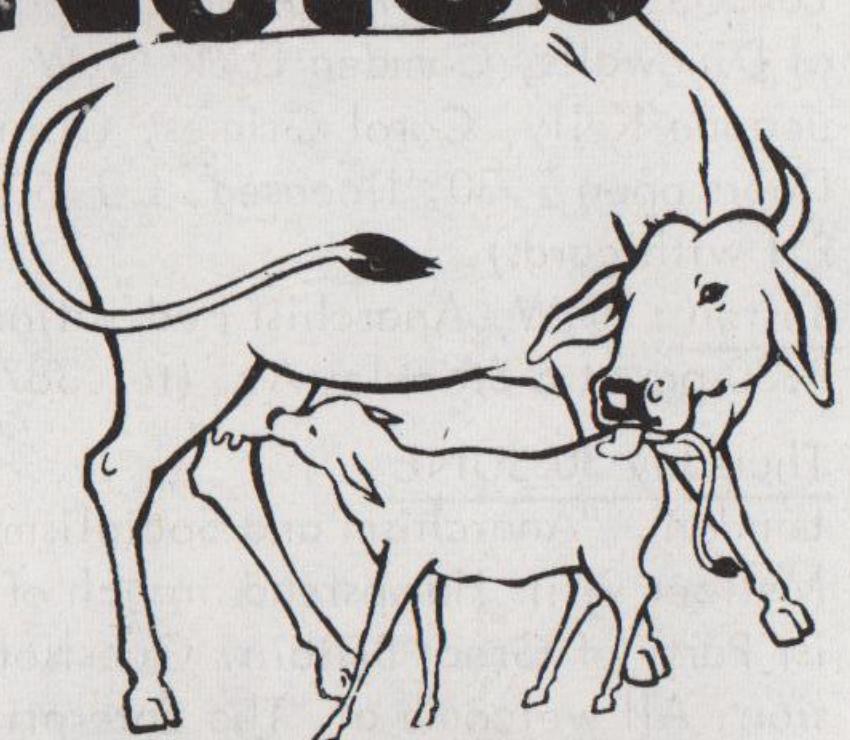
Efficiency

The further concentration of agriculture into few hands with larger investments is made in the interest of efficiency. The question is, efficient for whom? The people who work on the industrialised farm? They are few. The consumers? Home consumers are faced with mountains of food so expensively produced that they cannot afford to buy it. And the people of the Third World cannot buy grain because it is expensively fed into mountains of beef and butter that nobody can afford. Crops are grown and tailored to be processed expensively by a great industrial processing plant which produces plastic pap that is actually sold in supermarkets as food.

In order to counteract the worst effects of capitalist (and state capitalist) agricultural folly governments sometimes step in and make a mountain into a molehill. The purpose of the Hill Farming subsidy was to encourage farmers to produce lamb from poor land. As D. W. Yalden of Manchester University Dept. of Zoology point out in a letter to *The Guardian*: "The trobible is that the hill sheep subsidy is not paid to, and doesn't, increase production of lambs for the market. It is paid 'per head on the hill' at the Hume census each year.

Since it is much higher than the market price of a lamb, when the weather is mild, and survival of both ewes and lambs good, it pays the sheep farmer to keep the lambs, increasing the size of his flock, rather than sell off an unexpectedly good crop." This ultimately results not only in very few lambs but in overgrazing and soil erosion.

Land Notes



Not all is Darkness

In the same business section of the *Sunday Times* as the first report quoted, the same correspondent, Graham Rox, reports on the use of sheep in recovering the immense slag heaps created by the Cornish china clay industry. The clay company's surveyor, Derek Owen is the man responsible for landscaping and rehabilitating the quarry waste. After reshaping, contouring and stepping the heaps he plants copse of local trees,

then covers the remainder with tough grasses and leguminous nitrogen-forming trifoliate. However, to thicken the sward, constant mowing would be required. So to do this and add to fertility Derek Owen has introduced Soay sheep; an almost extinct breed that does not require the expensive attention needed for ordinary commercial sheep.

This has been an interesting trend in recent years. Many varieties of livestock have developed into consumers of expensive sophisticated food which they then expensively convert into meat. Often highly medicated. Now there is an awakened interest in old breeds of pigs like Tanworths and Gloucester Old Spots which may by their vitality and their inbred ability to root be more efficient in a real sense. And perhaps there is room for the hen as a processor or of unconsidered trifles.

The Common Heritage

A new generation of Barons armed with cheque books and our insurance premiums and pension scheme payments and oil barons looking for English country homes, protected by the forces of law and order which we also pay for, are raping our soil for the umpteenth time.

The answer is not nationalisation, for politicians are notoriously bad farmers (for expediency makes bad farmers) but the local control of the land so that there is a return to husbandry and everybody can see the relationship of resources.

(Continued from column 1, unfortunately left out. "FOOD FROM OUR RESOURCES".

Once more the impossibility of maintaining a rational agriculture within a capitalist commercial framework is emphasised. The progress of balanced agricultural development, in my opinion, reached its peak with the development of the Norfolk rotation. Its development as a system of husbandry and agricultural planning came to a premature end with the industrial revolution, the repeal of the Corn Laws and the influx of cheap American grain. The industrialists wanted cheap labour and cheap food. The system of property and ownership, though, had deteriorated to a large degree. However, the farming system would suit any libertarian-structured society.

LAND NOTES (on Mexico) continued on page 5.

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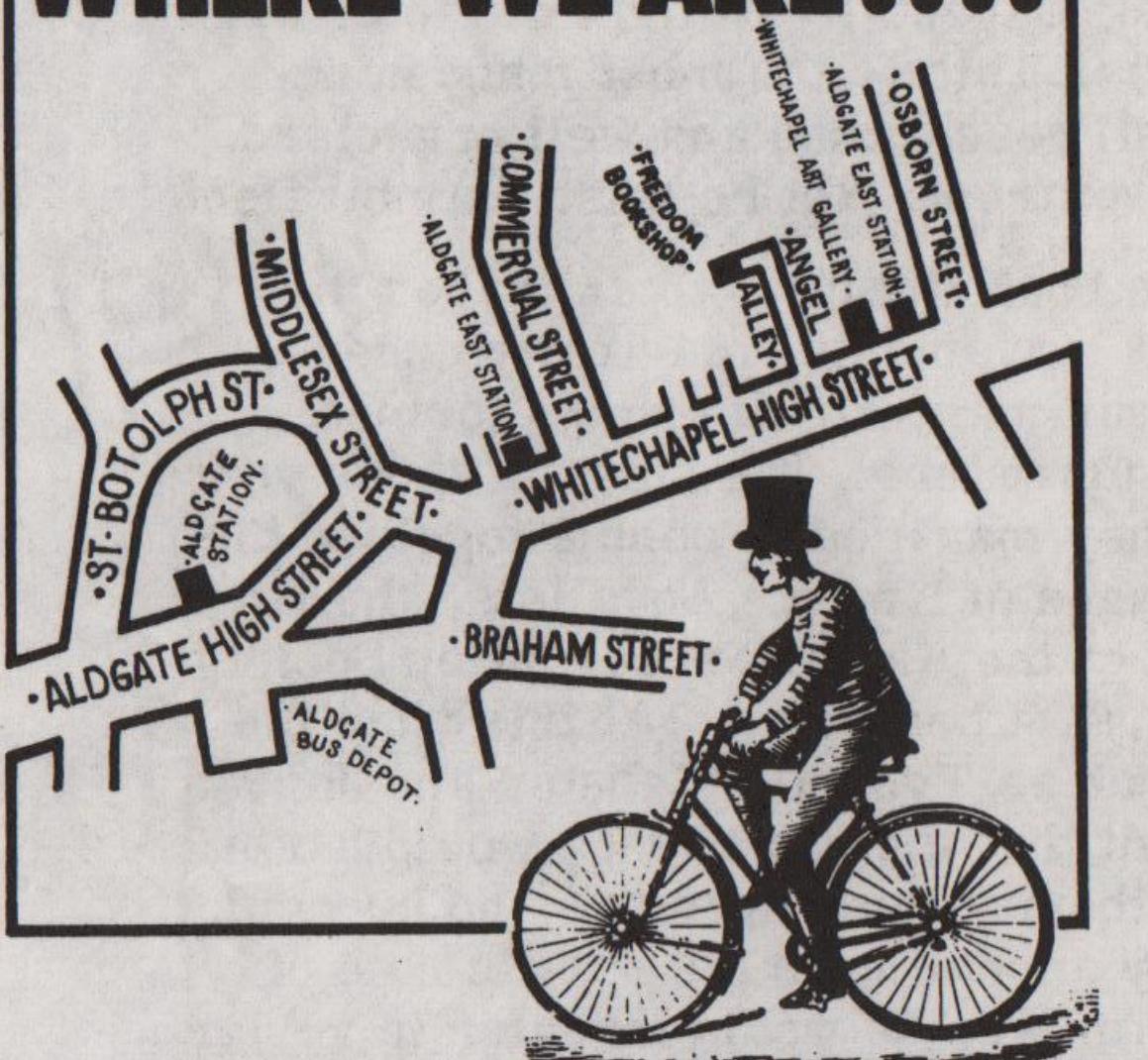
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WHERE WE ARE....



Queen of Hearts (cont)

ic one, naturally) has divorced and remarried—a professional violinist, no less! (or more).

Now the hunt is up to find a bride for Prince Charles. That is to say the popular press is engaged in speculation about who he will add to the royal pay-roll. The *Sunday Telegraph* magazine (5.6.77) says "enough names have been linked with the Prince to form ladies' hockey team". The fervour of the popular press's concern to get him settled may now be expected to intensify, since the *Sun* (10.6.77) discovered him to be thinning on top.

There is some comfort in the fact that the Press, if not deliberately inventing stories about the royal family is all too often completely incorrect in its guesses although, like all cult-objects, the royal family encourages a mythology. The usual story of royalty slipping unrecognised among ordinary mortals has survived since Kings Wenceslas and Alfred the Great. The reported engagements are part of this mythology—Princess Margaret and the Duke of Windsor received similar treatment. The Duke of Kent was supposed to marry Princess Beatrix of Holland; Lord Mountbatten was picked as the likely future mate of the widowed Jackie Kennedy—two weeks later she was reported to be 'that way' about Frank Sinatra. The *Sunday Times* supplement (5.6.77) speculates on Prince Andrew (aged 17), second in

line to the throne: "There's always the possibility that we could be left with King Andrew... (The last two crowned Kings, George VI and VI have been second sons, remember). Woman magazine described him as "That breathtakingly gorgeous fella snapped in this smouldering pin-up pose". The *Sunday Times*, quoting this, follows up with a comment of a school contemporary "a young Gordonstruan lady! He knows how to make you feel special... Just when you think he's getting serious he's off with someone else," said another. A third remarked on the passion-killing effect of bodyguards."



This final card in the royal pack appears to be trumps since it is aided, pushed and promoted by the press but, as can be seen, the P.R. technique and the exhibition of royalty through the keyhole have dispelled some of the mystic aura that surrounded the throne. The film star treatment itself is self-defeating and either exhausts itself by satiety or, by sheer competition of the press and publicity seekers, engenders incredulity and cynicism. The continual desire of royalty to be both 'with it' and example-setting by *moralistic* cultivates a split in behaviour which can be identified as hypocrisy. The snap-spent treatment tends to make the royal family fictitious with a disbelief in their reality or an object of suspicion as to what it is trying to sell.

But whether spades, hearts, diamonds or clubs they are pasteboard figures and to them it is merely a game, but we are the stakes.

JACK ROBINSON

"Ian the Printer" welcomes all his fans back after a brief interlude caused by problems with his tired, old machine and all this modern paper! No sooner had we got back to a particular newsagent (Star Bond) but as the manufacturer changed its quality and created such "feeding" problems that it took twice as long as before, to print *Freedom*. So back to Croxley Script and test paper; it feeds o.k. Another reason for the break is that Ian and his instigator have got a new job with four new issues a month instead of one monthly issue. One good news is that Ian and his instigator are getting paid to print so many more issues. Ian is a bit of a nutcase, but he's a nice bloke. Women friends and a powdered compound is also available." (Daily Telegraph 26.7.77). Review section printed by Magic Ink Printing Services. Tel: Thame (0843) 25902.

BOOKSHOP NOTES



FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

25 June 77

TOWARDS A POOR SCHOOL

COLIN WARD

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE of Dartington Hall, one of the longest-established "progressive" schools, was held on April 22, 1977. Colin Ward was one of the contributors to the symposium "New Themes for Education". The following is the text of his stimulating and provocative contribution, published here with the author's kind permission.

"The technological society has deliberately cultivated a careless, consumptive, egoistic and slovenly human being. The frugal society... must start with redirecting our attitudes and re-educating our values."

—HENRYK SKOLIMOWSKI: "The Earth and Its Friends"
BBC Radio 3
26 November, 1976

PERHAPS THE BEST-KNOWN contribution made by John Dewey to the endless debate on education was his remark that "what the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children". But perhaps the best and wisest parents are the very ones who are least able to specify their hopes in this respect, and the more they perceive and acknowledge the uniqueness of each child, the least likely would be their hopes for any particular child to have any general relevance. Unless, that is, they take refuge in generalities of universal application. They might want their child to be happy, to be fulfilled, to be autonomous, or to 'make a contribution'. But who doesn't? What guide to individual or collective action could we derive from such aspirations?

I have a friend, a Paraguayan anarchist, whose children were named according to parental convictions. Regardless of sex or custom, the first was named Liberty, the second was called Equality, and the third was named Fraternity. (If you are wondering what the fourth child of the family was called, I have to tell you that he was called Che.) It is hard to guess which of the family would grow up most embarrassed by this imposition of ideology on nomenclature, and I have no idea whether he sought for each child an education compatible with the slogans with which he had labelled his offspring. He would be in trouble if he did, because the resounding catch-phrases we have inherited from the 18th century may go together marvellously on French postage stamps, but do they go together in life, or in educational policy-making? Dr. Ronald Sampson of Bristol recently gave an address with the title "The choice between inequality and freedom in education" and that title at least draws attention to one of our most agonising and unresolved educational dilemmas.

For it often seems to me that people's social and political attitudes are determined, not on the conventional left-right spectrum but on the relative values they place on at least the first two characters in this holy trinity. There is a quite different continuum which shapes their approaches to the politics of education as to everything else; that between authoritarians and libertarians. In terms of the ordinary crudities of party politics, you can, for example, place our *elected* representatives in either of the two main parties on this continuum, and you might very well find that in one of those two parties the egalitarians are always on the back benches, while in the other the libertarians are usually to be found there. In the politics of education in Britain, people's devotion to one or other of these two principles leads them into some very sterile posturing, and it often lays them open to uncomfortable charges of hypocrisy since sometimes what they want for their own children is something other than what they want for all the community's children.

The pathos of the battle for equality in education is that it revolves around the principle of equality of opportunity to be unequal. The last word on this particular issue was said many years ago in a deceptively

modest little book, disguised as a satire, *The Rise of the Meritocracy* by Michael Young. This book looks back from the twenty-first century at our own day as the period when "two contradictory principles for legitimising power were struggling for mastery—the principle of kinship and the principle of merit". Kinship implies that you are the child of your parents and consequently have access to the opportunities they can provide. In Michael Young's satire, Merit wins in the end, with the perfection of intelligence testing, and consequently with earlier and earlier selection a new non-self-perpetuating élite is formed, consisting of the "five per cent of the population who know what five per cent means". The top jobs to the top people, and Payment by Merit (M equals IQ plus Effort) widens the gap between top and bottom people. The people at the bottom not only are treated as inferior, they know they are inferior. But to select the few is to reject the many, and in the meritocratic society new tensions arise. By the end of this century although the new working class no longer includes people of outstanding intellectual capacity (since they have all been creamed off by meritocratic selection) a Populist movement arises, consisting of dissident intellectuals, mainly women, allied with the disruptive lumpen-proletariat, declaring in the Chelsea Manifesto of the year 2000 their belief in the classless society.

Needless to say, the Manifesto cuts no ice with the meritocrats of the year 2000, though it becomes a rallying point in the bitter insurrection in 2033.

The Chelsea Manifesto declared that

"The classless society would be one which both possessed and acted upon plural values. Were we to evaluate people not according to their intelligence and their education, their occupation and their power, but according to their sympathy and generosity, there could be no classes. Who would be able to say that the scientist was superior to the porter with admirable qualities as a father, and the civil servant with unusual skill at gaining prizes superior to the lorry driver with unusual skill at growing roses? The classless society would also be the tolerant society, in which individual differences were actually encouraged as well as passively tolerated, in which full meaning was at last given to the dignity of man. Every human being would then have equal opportunity, not to rise up in the world in the light of any mathematical measure, but to develop his own special capacities for leading a rich life."

Well, my own experience is that the same people who would give an enthusiastic ideological assent to the propositions of the Chelsea Manifesto complain most bitterly when they discover that their children can earn more working for the District Council's cleansing department than they can in the lower ranks of professional employment, even though in the strike of tool-room workers at British Leyland in February they would bitterly criticise the strikers who asserted that with their years of training and immense skill they would earn the same as foremen of the lavatory cleaners. Other people's defence of pay differentials is always marked by sordid self-interest; our own is always above reproach. Education is not a path to social equality.

What do we say about liberty, the first of the holy trinity? As a political issue this is construed as parental freedom of choice in schooling for their children. As an educational issue it means, among a great many other things, the absence of coercion on the child: the goods are displayed in the educational supermarket and the customer selects or rejects. I am afraid that, with the exception of a few heroes, known by name to most of us, we are as guilty of hypocrisy in the name of this great abstraction as we are in the name of equality. In the publicly provided education system we have a book of martyrs to make the point, among them Mr. Duane, Mr. MacKenzie and Mr. Ellis. In the private

ly provided sector we know how at some stage in adolescence, parental interest in the sacred freedom of the child diminishes until the child is removed suddenly to attend a cramming establishment to achieve whatever educational qualifications are necessary to keep open the doors to a growing number of adult careers.

Martin Buber, looking into the candid eyes of a rebellious pupil, remarked "I love freedom, but I don't believe in it." His remark epitomises the position of the modern progressive parents. They do love freedom so long as it does not interfere with the chances of their children in the occupational status-race. It is nothing to do with the education system or with the philosophy of education, but it is a fact that in most high-status jobs the qualifications for entry, as well as the length of training, have been raised and extended to a ludicrous extent in order to upgrade those occupations. I need only to mention one occupation, that with which I am most familiar, the profession of architecture. To be accepted for professional training involves at the outset, in terms of the English education system, three 'O' levels and two 'A' levels, preferably in approved subjects, followed by six years of professional training, after which the successful aspirant finds himself preparing schedules of doors and windows for some building in the design of which he has had no hand. Now within living memory, and I think you will probably agree that architecture has been of an aesthetically and technically higher standard within the life-span of some living people, it was totally different. Sir Clough Williams-Ellis, who is still alive, confided to Sir Edwin Lutyens that he spent a term at the Architectural Association in London, learning his trade. "A term," said Lutyens, horrified, "My dear fellow, it took me three weeks." Was Lutyens a better or worse architect than the people who by a restrictive Act of Parliament are today exclusively entitled to call themselves architects? The first architect I ever worked for learned his trade at an age when we still by law imprison children in the compulsory education machine, drawing full-size details in chalk on brown paper on a barn floor, here in Devon, for the building of Truro Cathedral for the man to whom he was apprenticed, Sir John Loughborough Pearson, RA. Go and look at the building and see if it leaks.

What I say of an occupation of which I have intimate knowledge applies, I am certain, to the whole range of employment. I deliberately mentioned various architectural knights to indicate that I am not generalising from the experience of the riff-raff of the architectural profession, who all, no doubt, have been through the academic treadmill. In this, I am saying, as in so many other spheres of life, professionalism is a conspiracy against the laity, and if it is the reason why we have tacitly abandoned our educational belief in liberty, we need to be quite clear that it is these external circumstances rather than our educational ideas which have forced us into this position.

For motivated families, the belief in liberty has been modified by the requirements of occupational entrance, and this view has spread from the intelligentsia to the skilled working class. Anyone from a city like Glasgow, Newcastle or Belfast will tell you how the educational qualifications for an engineering apprenticeship have risen to impossible heights within the last decade. You need two 'O' levels to be employed with a car-washing machine in South Shields. No doubt you occasionally wash the cars lent by the Department of Education and Science to members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate so that they can get around to schools and tell teachers about the need to encourage children to aim at jobs in Britain's manufacturing industries.

Poor families and poor children interpret liberty in education quite differently. When the sociology graduate from Keele University drifts into teaching because we are overstocked with sociologists, and announces to his class that he wants them to feel free to express their own view of the situation, those among his conscripts who can actually hear his voice conclude with resignation that he doesn't really care about them. They conclude that in his opinion they are not worth teaching, and in their minds this is why he adopts this laissez-faire attitude. "He didn't care whether we learned anything or not," is their verdict on the now-departed teacher. We have written off liberty as an educational goal.

What are we to say about fraternity as one of the aims of education? It is a concept even harder to define than the other two. Looking for a way of coming to terms with the idea I am helped by a passage I read recently from Andre Malraux's book *Lazare*. He says,

People think they understand fraternity because they confuse it with human warmth. But in point of fact it is something much deeper, and it was belatedly, and almost apologetically, that it was added to the blazon of the Republic, whose flag at first bore only the words Liberty and Equality... The word Liberty has still the same ring to it, but Fraternity now stands only for a comical utopia in which nobody would ever have a bad character. Men believe that Fraternity was just tacked on, one Sunday, to feelings like Justice and Liberty. But it is not something that can be tacked on at will. It is something

sacred, and it will elude us if we rob it of the irrational element that lies hidden within it. It is as mysterious as love, it has nothing to do with duty, or with 'right thinking'. Like love, and unlike liberty, it is a provisional sentiment, a state of grace.

I am sure that Malraux betrays some ignorance of the history of ideas in his own country in making these remarks, but that is not my concern. Can we get closer to the meaning of Fraternity? Peter Kropotkin once chose to define it as Mutual Aid, and in his book of that name he re-marks that

"to reduce animal sociability to love and sympathy means to reduce its generality and its importance, just as human ethics based on love and personal sympathy only have contributed to narrow the comprehension of the moral feeling as a whole. It is not love of my neighbour—whom I often do not know at all—which induces me to seize a pail of water and to rush towards his house when I see it on fire; it is a far wider, even though more vague feeling or instinct of human solidarity and sociability which moves me... It is a feeling infinitely wider than love or personal sympathy—an instinct that has been slowly developed among animals and men in the course of an extremely long evolution, and which has taught animals and men alike the force they can borrow from the practice of mutual aid and support, and the joys they can find in social life."

Well, he's right, isn't he? But when the sense of fraternity, or solidarity, is cultivated in educational institutions, it frequently is in opposition to the institution itself. Teachers know that the fraternity is that of the peer-group and that the values it represents are profoundly anti-educational. "I have the greatest difficulty in restraining them from tearing up each other's work at the end of the period," a hard-pressed secondary school teacher told me. Indeed, the closer we get to the classroom, the more diminished is our faith that the school can be the agent of social change or the vehicle for social justice. In many parts of the world there is still a hunger for schooling. Immense sacrifices are made by parents to achieve it for their children. They and their children would find unbelievable the size of education budgets in the schools of the western world and the low esteem in which our schools are held by their scholars.

Thirteen years ago I wrote an article called "A Modest Proposal for the Repeal of the Education Act" and it was later blessed in the symposium *Children's Rights* as "the first time anyone in England had dared to formulate out loud, even to a possibly friendly audience, what many of us had begun to hear as a question in our heads". That reference to a friendly audience is important because it is easy to be misunderstood. At a time when teachers are joining the ranks of the unemployed, and when their unions as well as those of students are demonstrating under banners reading "Fight the Education Cuts", am I not grotesquely misjudging the present climate of education in putting on my banner the slogan "Towards a Poor School"?

Let me declare my vested interest in having rich schools. I earn half my living producing a bulletin for teachers, called BEE, the Bulletin of Environmental Education. It costs £ 4 a year—a modest sum—and in the last year the curve of circulation growth has completely flattened, as our renewal notices keep getting returned with sad little notes saying, "We like it very much. It's marvellously useful, but we have had to cut our spending drastically." I always say that they ought to ask their classes to subscribe their pennies, on the grounds that getting our bulletin will improve the quality of the teaching they are subjected to, but no-one takes me seriously because it's a basic educational principle, isn't it, that no-one should raise a penny for his own education?

I earn the other half of my income running a project for the Schools Council, which is the body concerned with curriculum development in England and Wales. Our project is called "Art and the Built Environment". Can you imagine anything more frivolous, while the nation's economy goes down the drain? Not only is our project one of those marginal frills, by the standards of the education industry, but its sponsor, the Schools Council, is itself vulnerable. The notorious Yellow Paper—the report to the Prime Minister from the Department of Education and Science, which was leaked to the press—described its performance as 'mediocre'. So I have a strong interest in an education system rich enough to support marginal activities—or activities which in the eyes of the system are marginal.

In what sense do I see virtues in the idea of a poor school? There is a Polish stage producer, Grotowski, who wrote a book called *Towards a Poor Theatre*, implying that the theatre would get a new lease of life if it shed all the expensive trimmings of the proscenium, elaborate lighting and equipment: all that audio-visual gear. (Actually there is a parallel in school here. Do any of our great drama teachers—people like Dorothy Heathcote in Newcastle for example—have any use for the

elaborate theatre equipment with which many schools encumbered themselves in the days when we thought we were rich?) Similarly there is a movement, as I understand it, in the Christian church, known as Towards a Poor Church, as a kind of echo of all those religious reformers who have haunted that religion, with their bare feet and shaggy beards, urging their fellows to abandon all that expensive architecture and ecclesiastical silverware in order to free themselves to become receptive to the Message. (Actually there's a parallel in school here too with those earnest members of the Church of England who think the only thing that can save the church is disestablishment—the severing of its official connection with the state.) Many teachers of what we call religious education in school believe that the only thing that can save the reputation of their subject (which in this country is the only school subject established by law and at the same time the only one we can opt our children out of) is the ending of its statutory existence as well as that of the common act of worship which is supposed to take place in morning assembly.

Whatever we may say when we lobby against cuts in educational spending, let us reflect, between friends, on the implications of educational poverty. And before we get self-righteous about it, let us think about the implications of the Houghton pay award to teachers a couple of years ago. Cause and effect there may or may not be, but before Houghton, when teachers were complaining of their poverty, there was no job shortage, there was a teacher shortage. Many schools had a terrifying turnover of staff every term. In 1974 many urban schools were sending children home because there was no-one to teach them. I read two items about the same city in the same newspaper on the same day that year, one of which reported the sending home of schoolchildren for this reason while the other reported the rounding-up by the police of truants, collected off the streets. After the Houghton pay award, the huge staff turnover stopped: the oldest inhabitants of the city school became the staff once more instead of the fifth-year conscripts, and the supply of jobs dried up. As the schools became poorer, they became more stable as institutions.

The truth is that in the boom period, now over, education was oversold. Every additional bit of expenditure, every increase in student numbers at the upper and more expensive end of the system, every new development in educational technology, was a step towards some great social goal. But it hasn't delivered the goods. Professor A. H. Halsey, writing in the *Times Educational Supplement* (21 January 1977) remarks that "We live today under sentence of death by a thousand cuts (that is, of all things except the body of bureaucracy). In education the position is one of extreme relative deprivation, not only because of the financial background of a sudden halt to previously mounting largesse, but also, and more seriously, because of the collapse of belief in education either as the best investment for national production, or the great redistributor of chances to the traditionally disadvantaged."

Nor is this simply a British phenomenon. Fred M. Hechinger, the author of *Growing Up in America*, writing in the same journal (5 November 1976) says that "America is in headlong retreat from its commitment to education. Political confusion and economic uncertainty have shaken the people's faith in education as the key to financial and social success."

Among the people or trends which he blames for this changed circumstance, are the rightwing backlash and what he calls the "destructive" influence of the deschoolers like Ivan Illich and the views of critics like Edgar Z. Friedenberg, John Holt and Christopher Jencks. I think, on the contrary, that these people have had an immensely liberatory effect

on our ideas about schools. All the same, there is a telling irony about the way that the intelligentsia lapped up the de-schooling literature of a few years ago—the works of Paul Goodman, Everett Reimer and Ivan Illich—but when at the same time the schools were sending home pupils for lack of teachers, they failed, with a few exception in the 'free school' movement, to make the connection. The community did not seize the occasion to use the wonderful resources of the city to provide an alternative education for the kids who were wandering the streets. They just waited for the statistics for such offences as shoplifting, vandalism and taking-and-driving-away, to rise—which they did. At the same time in the universities, well-educated Marxist lecturers were explaining how the education system in our society was simply a device for preparing us for our particular slot in capitalist industry. The government, as though anxious to prove them right, has set off a Moral Panic about the failure of the education system to meet the needs of industry.

My friend Stan Cohen wrote a book about the shaping of stereotypes in the public mind on such themes as mods, rockers, skinheads and greasers, and gave it the title *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. I would extrapolate from that title the notion that whenever you have a moral panic you have to find a folk devil. We have a moral panic about the state of education—so we find a folk devil in all those soft options that the kids are fiddling around with instead of bashing away at literacy and numeracy and getting ready for the world of work. This particular moral panic was set off by a

speech from the Prime Minister, but the process that Cohen calls media amplification has been at work, so that what he actually said was considerably less denunciatory than the accompanying chorus off-stage. When Mr. Callaghan made his speech at Ruskin College, enormous attention was focussed on the occasion. This was not because of the nice irony that that particular college was founded to give a liberal education to working men, thus ensuring that they would never go back to what Eric Gill called the "subhuman condition of intellectual irresponsibility" to which we condemn industrial workers, but because of the leak to the press in the previous week of that Yellow Paper—the document prepared by the Department of Education and Science to brief the Prime Minister—which swiped away at all the sacred cows of education except course the Department of Education and Science and Her Majesty's Inspectorate. I must say that I found nothing objectionable about the Prime Minister's speech, but I cannot help feeling both cynicism and anger at the timing of this particular moral panic.

Is it because the government feels conscious that the rival party seems to be stealing its thunder in the public discussion of education? Or is it part of a smoke-screen to divert attention from the fact that the cash is running out of the budgets of local education authorities? Well, never mind chaps, let's concentrate on the basics. It's back to 1870, the year of the Act of Parliament which made schooling free, universal and compulsory, and also the year which marked the beginning of Britain's industrial decline. 1870? Well, just ask an economic historian. Isn't the education industry, in fact, just the latest scapegoat for the state of the British economy?

The Prime Minister in his Ruskin speech said that he wanted to open a national debate on education and remarked that "the debate that I was seeking has got off to a flying start even before I was able to say anything". Too true. I found it hilarious to learn from *The Guardian* on 14 October last—the week before Mr. Callaghan's speech—that "a multi-million pound emergency programme to monitor standards in primary and secondary schools has been started by the DES" just at the time when the schools themselves are being obliged to make multi-million pound cuts in their own spending, and just when education committees are solemnly debating reducing the calorific value of school meals as well as raising the price of them. Professor Halsey was absolutely right in suggesting that the last thing that would be cut was the educational bureaucracy. I read that week in the Sunday papers that the Welsh Secretary, Mr. John Morris, had also pre-empted the result of the debate by giving "clear uncompromising guidance...circulated to every head teacher in the Principality" saying that "The priority must be tilted towards the engineer, the scientist and the mathematician. And in addition our children must be taught the languages of Europe to such a degree of proficiency that they can sell and service our products in the countries of our trading partners..."

I am deeply suspicious of all this talk. I don't believe that the roots of or the cure for our chronic economic malaise are to be found in the education system, and if it is true that the young don't like industrial jobs, at either a shop-floor or a graduate level (and it is symptomatic of the superficial nature of the debate that it fails to distinguish between the two) I think it ironical that instead of wanting to change the nature of industrial work, of wanting to make it an adventure instead of a penance, we should want to change the nature of the young. Actually it is not even true that we are short of graduate engineers and we are certainly not short of shop-floor fodder.

There must be many teachers who went through the boom years without even knowing that they were in them: they found themselves committed to a policy of make do and mend as usual, and never got their hands on the money because it was being spent somewhere else. No-one here who is a teacher will deny my assertion that the characteristic situation is for the teacher to say all year that he would like this or that set of books or piece of equipment, and be told that there was no cash, while three days before the end of the financial year, the head of department would say, "You've got four hundred pounds to spend by the end of the week. Let me know what to order before the end of the afternoon because otherwise we'll lose the money." I was in a school the other day, in an Art and Design Department where thousands of pounds were available to spend on machinery, but the art teacher had only £ 38 to lay out on paper, paint and other expendables. He could have kilns but no clay. As an advocate of the use of the local environment in education I have often come across the situation where the teacher can easily get an illuminated terrestrial globe to suspend from the ceiling, but found that it was not in order for him to buy a class set of street maps of the locality.

One of the ways in which hierarchical systems work is by withholding information on the budget. We see this at a national level where the Chancellor of the Exchequer has it all in his black box to reveal to a waiting nation on budget day. Secrecy is made into a fetish and politici-

ans have been disgraced because of budget leaks. But shouldn't the nation's budget be the subject of earnest discussion throughout the country for months before? It is the same with the education budget and the budget of the school itself. I am willing personally to join in the scramble for slices of the diminishing cake, but which group of supplicants, all shouting "Me too" do I join? This is what is happening at the ludicrous stage-managed regional conferences being held by the DES and the Ministers around the country, where every kind of special and sectional interest is being given the opportunity to say "Me TOO".

I would rather join a different campaign. My bit of graffiti would say "Open the Books". Just what is the school's budget, and how is it to be allocated, What subject interest is starved just because it doesn't use a lot of prestige equipment? Just what is the authority's budget and how much of that goes in administration? Just what is the nation's educational budget and how much of it is spent by the DES on itself? A year ago, John Vaizey in one of his provocative little contributions to the education press asked "Do we really need the DES?" Exactly what function, he asked, has the Department, when the local authorities themselves have inspectors and subject advisors, and when we have a theoretically decentralised education system. Her Majesty's Inspectors are always blandly telling us that they have no control over the curriculum. If you took a conspiratorial view of politics you might think that the Yellow Paper is the Department's attempt to assert in the face of Lord Vaizey (who is, after all, one of our foremost authorities on the economics of education) that it has a function, or is going to make one for itself.

Some people will remember a frivolous little book called *Parkinson's Law* whose author commented, among other things, that as the Navy had fewer and fewer ships, the Admiralty had more and more employees. Much more recently there is the instance of the National Health Service which is the largest single employer in Britain. In the ten years before its reorganisation its staff increased by 65 per cent. Its medical staff, however, increased during this period by 21 per cent, and its domestic staff by 2 per cent. The truth is, unpalatable as it must be for those people who believe in government action and government funding for every task which society has to fulfil, that the governmental mechanism develops a momentum of its own: it secures and guarantees its own future. You will have seen photographs in the papers (e.g. *Sunday Times* 6 March 1977) of the new office blocks for the administrators and the old Nissen huts for the patients, and you will have read that the staff of the consultants, McKinsey's who advised on the reorganisation of the health service two years ago, now believe that they have the wrong advice. You may have heard on the radio Mr. Tatton Brown who was chief architect for the Department of Health from 1959 to 1971, reflecting that the advice he and his colleagues gave to the Regional Health Authorities was not the right advice on hospital design. As you know, the pundits of hospital organisation were advising complexes like Addenbrooke's and Northwick Park. Now suddenly they have swung around to praising the local cottage hospital as being manageable, friendly, community-oriented, and economic. But the machine they set in motion is still condemning local hospitals to death. There is an exact parallel in school planning. A series of obsolete assumptions about the size of the sixth form generated the idea of the huge unmanageable comprehensive school, and the rationalising out of existence of small secondary schools is still in process, long after any teacher believes that there is anything to be gained from doing so, just as the war against selective secondary schools is still being fought long after we have given up the hope that the education system can be used to promote social justice.

The person who worships the state and thinks that any other mode of provision is a let-off for the state or a cop-out from the state, when faced by the politics of retrenchment, can only protest and wave his banner. There is for example in the world of pre-school education, a deep ideological division between those who believe in the provision of day-nurseries and nursery schools by local education authorities, on principle, and those who believe on principle on baby-minders and parent-organised playgroups. Every now and then the scandal arises in the public mind of illicit baby-minding, but it was left to an outsider, Brian Jackson, to think up the idea of courses in baby-minding for unofficial baby-minders. Now, as part of its education cuts, one English county has decided, reluctantly, to close all its nursery schools. The customers are helpless. If the local community had developed its own unofficial network of provision for the under-fives, it would have been better off today.

I was walking through a country town the other day when I passed a building with that little-red-schoolhouse look, and sure enough, there was a stone set into the wall saying, "These two classrooms were built by public subscription on the occasion of the coronation of King Edward VII, 1901". Well, I'm not enthusiastic about commemorating him or his descendants, but I do think that in education as in many other fields of life,

we have thrown away a huge fund of energy, goodwill and popular involvement, in abandoning the principle of voluntary self-taxation to improve facilities, in the name of universal publicly-provided facilities. Dependence on government means that we become powerless when some centralised decision-making system says, according to priorities which may be wise or foolish, that we aren't going to get what we want through the system. The rediscovery of the voluntary ethic can happen quite quickly: I read earlier this year that parents from the Sussex villages of Ferring and Kington have offered to put up two prefabricated classrooms at Angmering Comprehensive School because the extra classrooms had been axed by government spending cuts. The *Evening News* (7 January 1977) says that the council's schools committee has recommended that West Sussex County Council accepts the "revolutionary" idea. As I have indicated, the idea isn't all that revolutionary. In the poor world it would be taken for granted. Illiterate poor parents in the shanty towns on the fringe of a Latin American city would take it for granted that they should build a primary school for their children. However, one of the cuts that Essex County Council has decided on is that no further swimming instruction or maintenance should be provided in pools run by parent-teacher associations. Now that really is a foolish gesture, because it will deter other parent-teacher associations from providing swimming pools. The council should have leant over backwards to fulfil its part of the bargain, just to show how valuable it thought parent and teacher initiatives are.

In the situation of a No-Growth economy, which to my mind is our situation today and which we are faced with in any conceivable future, there are certain priorities which are self-evident to me. I find, to my horror and amazement that they are all totally revolutionary. My first priority is that we should put our money at the bottom end of education rather than at the top. Now this really would be a revolutionary change in the order of things. For the greater the sums of money that are poured into the education industries of the world, the smaller the proportion which benefits the people at the bottom of the educational, occupational and social hierarchy. The universal education system turns out to be yet another way in which the poor are obliged to subsidise the rich. A decade ago Everett Reimer found that the children of the poorest one-tenth of the population of the United States cost the public in schooling \$2500 each other a lifetime, while the children of the richest one-tenth cost about \$35,000. Assuming that one-third of this is private expenditure, the richest one-tenth still gets ten times as much of public funds for education as the poorest one-tenth. In his suppressed UNESCO report of 1970, Michael Huberman reached the same conclusion for the majority of countries in the world. In Britain we spend twice as much on the secondary school life or a grammar-school sixth former as on a secondary modern school leaver, while if we include university expenditure, we spend as much on an undergraduate in one year as on a normal school child throughout his life. The Fabian Tract *Labour and Inequality* calculates that "while the highest social group benefit seventeen times as much as the lowest group from the expenditure on universities, they only contribute five times as much revenue". No wonder Everett Reimer calls schools an almost perfectly regressive form of taxation. In the scramble for dwindling public expenditure on education, you may be sure that the universities are going to be almost obscenely successful by comparison with the pre-school education lobby.

In re-ordering our expenditure I would invest heavily in pre-school education, and in the infant and junior school. My aim would be the traditional, and currently approved one, that every child should be literate and numerate on leaving the junior school at eleven. All right, it will take up to the age of 14 to achieve this for some children, but I want to assert that the compulsory prolongation of schooling beyond such an age is an affront to the freedom of the individual and has nothing to do with the aims of education, even though it has everything to do with the restrictive practices of the job market. I mentioned earlier the entry qualifications demanded by the architectural profession. A month ago the R.I.B.A. Council solemnly sat and discussed how to make it harder still —like demanding four 'A'-levels—so as to restrict entry still further. Do we have to wait until two 'A'-levels instead of two 'O'-levels are needed to get a car-wash job in South Shields, or do we say enough is enough: this is not what we have teachers for?

I quoted earlier the brilliant satire *The Rise of the Meritocracy*, written by Michael Young in the 1950s. He was interviewed by one of the Sunday papers and explained why he feels that there is no future for secondary schools as we know them. He said,

"I think secondary schools in their present form are doomed. They haven't yet managed to reflect the new kind of family. The father used to be the fount of authority. Today, that authority is greatly diminished partly because it's shared. Schools and universities bor-

mmed authority from the authoritarian father and now that it's no longer there to be borrowed, children in secondary schools are not going to accept it. There has to be a reduction in the school-leaving age and a move over to half-time education. People will be learning at home, at the workplace, and not forced into institutions which use a bogus authority."

Dr. Young has the honesty and the poor taste to bring up the subject of the crisis of authority in the secondary school: a crisis that ensures that much of our expenditure on teachers and plant is wasted by attempting to teach people what they do not want to learn in a situation that they would rather not be involved in. A poor school could not afford such waste and frustration of both teachers and taught. The school has become one of the instruments by which we exclude adolescents from real responsibilities and real functions in the life of our society. We have in the last year of secondary schooling pathetic attempts to give "relevance" by providing Work Experience courses aimed at acclimatising the young to the shock of going to work, or by providing courses in colleges of further education with such titles as Adjustment to Work, for the benefit of those unable or unwilling to hold down a job. The Trade Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industries have joined forces in backing a project for informing school-children about industry. Arthur Young, the headmaster of Northcliffe High School in Yorkshire, has for years been trying to find the right equation between learning and earning. He values the efforts of his pupils to earn money for themselves and has sought, within the narrowly prescribed limits of the law, to provide opportunities in and out of school for them to do so. He remarks of Work Experience projects that they "have never really got off the ground because of the legal, insurance and trade union problems that hedge them around. I have always thought that the schemes proposed were phoney—the most important aspect of work experience being neglected completely the wage at the end of the week".

Like Michael Young, Arthur Young sees an urgent need to change the relationships in the secondary school. Describing the efforts made to provide actual cash-earning experience for the most unlikely lads at his school, and the effect it has had on their attitudes to running their own lives, taking decisions, budgeting, fulfilling obligations, dealing with strangers, as well as such mundane things taken for granted by the middle-class child as using the telephone, he remarks, "We have to overcome the ridiculous idea that giving children the chance to earn money in school is somehow immoral... In the changing situation in education, pupil-teacher relationships and roles are the essence of much heart-searching and debate. We might do well to compare the differ-

ences in an earning-learning situation between master and apprentice and in the traditional school situation, captive scholars facing chalk and talk across the barrier of the teacher's desk. The comparison of relationships between newsagent and paperboy and between paperboy and schoolmaster might also be revealing."

The carelessly rich school, greedy for resources, has no need to be a productive institution. The poor school could not afford not to be a productive workshop and belongs to a society in which every workshop is an effective school. Don't think I am denigrating or down-grading the teacher. Far from it. A poor school could not afford to have its spending kept out of the individual teacher's hands. A poor school needs to know what it is paying for. In the 1960s educational spenders were swept away on a tide of commercially-inspired expensive options like programmed learning and teaching machines which are greeted with a cynical laugh in the 1970s. The expensive hardware of educational technology has become an irrelevancy and an embarrassment in this decade. I want the school to have a clearly stated published budget with a personal allocation to each member of the staff to spend as he or she sees fit. The teacher should be responsible for his own spending. He can do it wisely or foolishly on such materials and equipment as he desires. He can pool it with others, he can carry it over to next year.

The poor school would be self-catering. Why shouldn't the school meals service be in the hands of the pupils? Why shouldn't every secondary school include a day nursery run by the pupils? The poor school would be too valuable a community asset to be open for a small part of the day and for a restricted age band. Already we are feeling our way towards such an institution through the concept of the community school and the community college. When we consider how little the massive educational spending of the last decade did to enhance the lives or life-chances of the children in what is known as "the lower quartile of the ability range" in secondary education, we may perhaps hope that the new age of frugality will lead us to devise appropriate educational experiences in a climate where we make fewer grandiose claims for what the school can do. By settling for less, we might even achieve more.

COLIN WARD.

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FOLK DEVILS AND MORAL PANIC by Stanley Cohen (hardback McGibbon & Kee £2.95, paperback Palladin 50p)
CHILDREN'S RIGHTS Panther (paper 50p)

Queen of Hearts concluded

WITH THE ADVENT of the allegedly permissive society the matrimonial behaviour of royalty—or is it merely the reporting of the behaviour of royalty?—seems to have become more relaxed. Besides the now obligatory marriage to commoners, and a slurring over of the taboos against divorcees, the device of divorce itself seems to have fingered the fringes of royalty.

The popular press's existence upon a menu mainly of sex, sport, crime and royalty demands a constant supply of royal titillating tattle for which there seems to be a public appetite. Richard Hoggart in *The Uses of Literacy* writes of the monarchy as the working class sees it "as an institution it is scarcely thought of... they are not royalists by principle... the interest [if they are interested] is for what can be translated into the personal... they are more interested in a few individual members of the Royal Family than in the less colourful figures of parliamentary government". Hoggart goes on "I am not thinking of the period, usually in adolescence, when some girls find a glamour in the Royal Family similar to that they find in film stars..."

The comparatively recent institution of a Press secretary to Buckingham Palace is not only a tribute to the power of the press but also

to the power of public relations, but as Richard West in his book on P.R. points out that "Commander Colville seems to be employed to maintain secrecy". It was Press Secretary Commander Colville who, in 1955, sent a letter to the Press Council complaining that some employees of the royal household had broken the trust imposed on them. When entering the service of the Palace they are informed, as a condition of employment, that they may not "give any person either verbally or in writing any information regarding Her Majesty or any member of the Royal Family which might be communicated to the Press". This complaint (treated by the Press Council with the same indifference as all complaints) was presumably regarding the banal memoirs of an ex-nanny, "Crawfie" and an ex-butler at the Palace. But no Official Secrets Acts prosecutions followed.

In its annual report for 1956 the Press Council said it would be failing in candour if it pretended that the relations between Buckingham Palace and the press were happy and harmonious.

By 1957 they had become much worse. In June Sir Gerald Barry criticised the officials as "reluctant and stand-offish and uncommunicative".

Immense publicity was given by the press to the figuratively abortive affair between Princess Margaret and Captain Peter Townsend, a divorcee. The *Mirror* on its populist course of going forward with the people, headlined the delays: 'Come on, Margaret, please make up your mind' and 'For Pete's sake, put him out of his misery'.

Malcolm Muggeridge thought that application of film-star publicity techniques to the Royal family deprived the Monarchy of dignity. We see again the curious dualism between a love of publicity and a desire for secrecy echoing a desire to be loved and worshipped as super-human and a desire to be regarded as "just folks" or as human as you or I.

It is salutary at this distance of time to realize that the controversial Tony Armstrong-Jones (Lord Snowdon) from whom Princess Margaret now has a separation, just short of divorce, was the choice for 'second best man'. The Queen's cousins, the Lascelles Gerald and George (Earl of Harewood) have been touched by the permissiveness from which it would seem that even royalty is not exempt, for Gerald has separated from his wife and George (the artist-

cont.p6

DEPLORE IT by all means, but what cannot be denied is that the capital city is the mirror, the cause, the reward and the punishment of man's efforts to put one paw ahead in the rat-race.

The good life among the waving rhubarb and the nodding cabbages can be rewarding but when the loving herd has ceased to low and the way-side flower has turned it in for the night and the sophisticated and cosmopolitan son of the soil stretches out his tired limbs in the cottage beautiful having fiddled his VAT forms and sealed his applications for State aid, then comes the moment of quiet meditation and, accept it or nay, in those vacuums of rural bliss one can only meditate on the sins and iniquities of the lads and lasses in the city stews. And abstract ideas are meaningless until they are put into physical action and it is those physical actions that generate freshly-minted ideas. And the action is always in the great cities for creative man must of necessity find an audience and the audience for the poet, the painter or the non-political politicians does not exist in the solitude of the flowery dell or among the Brother periwinkles or the pool-trapped starfishes of the empty coastlines. Communication is about what our fellow man is thinking and doing or it is nothing, and to contract out of the action means that one is a ruptured drum echoing the sound and fury of the battle and the mindless sounds of the winds and the grasses when the agony or the foolishness has moved to fresh fields of glory. And he who communicates must of necessity give his own interpretation of the action and in doing so use a new audience. It is not important that those he communicates with will never see the art exhibition held in a distant town or country, that they will never buy the reviewed book or for geographical reasons march on the demonstration or lean out of the window of the squat house. What is important is that, though the art exhibition became last week's art history, the book never left the bookshop shelves, the demonstration is no more than pub gossip and the squatters have moved to new residences, one feels that one is truly informed on what is happening, for time repeat time does not exist with the printed word.

Anyone For The Sewer

London in one single week can and does offer a ferment of ideas and action and to condemn the futility of so much of it is not to deny its validity for the act in itself is important.

Covent Garden is deserted, the bright crude paintings of the children fill the hoardings and like unto an abandoned city it waits its fate at the hand of the political developers. It is the silence of the hot afternoon and in the empty of audience Air Gallery a young girl stands alone. Her face is painted with a clown's mask and she wears a silver clown's costume. She stands in the empty gallery completely unselfconscious and I gaze past her with polite dead eyes. The exhibition is Chris Jenning's photomontage relating to the Conservative Party manifesto. It is good imaginative work but unfortunately Jenning has chosen the 1930s as his period and therefore there is no political impact. Fascism is still a good swear word for the left but the horrors of that time are meaningless to what is now a second generation.

It is wrongly stated that photomontage was a dadaist art form, but the fact is that it was in direct conflict with this ordered art form for dadaism attracted the nihilist and the motiveless anarchist while photomontage was a gift to the communist artist and they made brilliant use of it. It was the German communist John Heartfield who gave it its full flower with his attacks on the German military State and the rising Nazi Party, yet even he was not Simon pure as an artist in that he used actors to pose for photographs to fit a composition. Photomontage must in the end be, as Schwitters showed, a true collection of social, photographic or printed rejects of a society, and Heartfield produced marvellous posters but containing the flaws of commercial art in that creative art is rejected if it does not fit the space or the message. Chris Jenning's failure is that he has failed to put his talent to the service of the political day for he has chosen to illustrate history.

CHRIS JENNING Photomontage at the Air Gallery, Covent Garden
FRANCIS KELLY Nudes at Editions Graphiques, Bond Street
ROYAL ACADEMY Summer Exhibition, Burlington House, Piccadilly
HAYWARD ANNUAL 1977, The Hayward Gallery, South Bank
KAGULY and HUGHES at Angela Flowers Gallery, 3 Portland Mews
PETER RAVEN at the Acme Gallery, Covent Garden

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around the galleries

There was champagne for the drinking and good conversation plus the pleasure of viewing Francis Kelly's erotic nudes at Editions Graphiques off Bond Street, but highlighted flesh no matter how skilfully drawn can only have a limited appeal for one must soldier on and the long march was only minutes away within the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. I would hold that this is the worst exhibition that the Royal Academy has mounted for many a long day and even the pleasure of the company of Griselda Hamilton-Baillie could not soften the blow.

It is fitting that this bad work should be displayed for the Royal Academy can do no more than reflect its cultural hour, but there is work here that is abysmally bad. As in politics the dynamic has gone and the art world is now forced to call upon the old guard and the good work is almost without exception drawn from the commercial Bond Street galleries. Men like Hamilton Fraser, de Grey and Tristram Hillier make a good solid backing group to a fifth rate performance. Let us praise Jane White's beautiful flowered watercolour, observe that Blamey R.A. fails where Lucien Freud succeeded in portraying lower middle-class domestic horror; that Tagg's essay in large scale photorealism in the defunct American style just does not make the grade and that David Carpenter's sad and mournful work, as with that of Brian Hagger, is good visual sociological stuff proving that working class environmental life is really as drear as the Observer claims in its "Peter Simple" column but it is good craftsmanship. All that left was Mike Leonard's "Dog and Overcast" wherein man and dog spoke for us all with their air of resigned boredom. I left the Academy with but one wayward glance in the direction of Griselda Hamilton-Baillie for even the wait for the free wine could not hold me, and there at the side exit were small groups of unfortunates collecting their rejected canvases and I helped to carry one or more for them and let them accept the fact that if the work hanging within the

Royal Academy was bad their rejected work was plainly awful. There was no rejected genius here, the bad being hung in place of the worse. There is no crime here. The only crime is to charge these unfortunate people money for the right to submit their hopeless work and the greater crime of having the Members of the Royal Academy not have the guts or the honesty to give an honest opinion of the work that they have hung when they are crawling, wining and dining in the free yearly piss-up for the Establishment.

So much bad work, and there at the Hayward, across from the National Theatre strike pickets, is the Hayward Annual 1977 showing the work of those fashionable minor artists whose feeble work spawned so much of the rubbish at the R.A. Chocolate Box art was once a mark of contempt and this is what that generation produced despite all the windy manifestoes. From the Tate's "British Artists of the '60s" to the Hayward the same old names crop up. The same puerile draftsmanship, the same flat bright baby colours. Jones offered his crude American-styled eroticism, Cohen his nursery-style wall paper, Auerbach his failure to splash and slash his large brushes to any purpose. Only Monro offers a giggle with his back-street children's comic figures, crude, comic, lifesize and with the honest and simple-minded vulgarity of the music hall. And of course John Latham of the 'burning books' at panic stations, for all his kinky recording gear had not arrived by press day. But over the years his anarchistic approach to the practice of the arts has made it a living and valid thing.

These are the great, in the minor meaning of the term, exhibitions and they deserve to be condemned but bad work is no crime in relation to the arts for in the end it is the act of creation that is important. I will drink wine and eat sausages at Angela Flowers', admire Kraguly's masterly graphics and Huges' lovely acrylic pastorals and listen to a client and his solicitor discuss their chance of success in suing Private Eye for libel. Admire, with little understanding, Peter Raven's "Earth's Other Garden" and tread gently among his grouped bricks within the Acme Gallery, in the desert of Covent Garden. And I will sit in a pub in the Tottenham Court Road as an inconclusive anarchist meeting grinds away at the hours and a comrade will say "I had to come to London to find the action". Deplore it if you will but if action is your thing then the gravitational pull must be to the centre, but comrades beware the drainhole.

A. MOYSE

National Front

THE NATIONAL FRONT, Martin Walker, Fontana paper back, £1.00.

THIS book's strengths are apparent. The author, Martin Walker, has been studying the National Front for four years and he has written extensively about it in *The Guardian*. So much so that members were barred from speaking to him, although some continued to cooperate with him. Its weaknesses appear almost as quickly. Even before starting to read we must ask ourselves about the accuracy of information provided by members of an organisation so given to factionalism and backstabbing. And then, on the very first page of the Introduction Walker declares that "If they win a British general election, then they are entitled to my respect." Are they indeed? He then offers a list of his liberal credentials, apparently proven by victimisation by the Front. Yet he says of NF leaders, "One or two I now count as personal friends and I cannot find it in my heart to call them 'Fascists'". What else is he going to call them? Especially in light of the clear job he has done with his book. This is the most maddening aspect of it. It is clear, well researched and well organised. The nature of the Front is apparent. Yet he is still ambivalent.

However, to return to the book itself. Walker traces the origins of the extreme right movements, originally under Oswald Mosley. After the war many small groups formed, mostly dominated by Nazi supporters. The story of these years is squalid indeed. In 1967 they managed to cobble together the Front, mainly from the League of Emigre Loyalists, the British National Party and part of the Racial Preservation Society under the Fuehrership of A.K. Chesterton. At this time the more blatant neo-Nazis, such as Tyndall, Webster and Jordan were excluded, as it was felt that their presence would harm the image. Chesterton's authority was supreme, and he would counter any awkwardness by appealing to his mystic role of leader. (Lenin used to be similar, he would threaten to resign if he didn't get his own way. Indeed, one striking feature emerging from this book is the similarity between small, faction ridden groups of both left and right. The authoritarian mind is similar, whether it accepts myths based on "scientific" sociology and economics or on instinctive racial qualities).

Tyndall and his lieutenant, Webster (who emerges as one of the most odious individuals concerned, even in this company) worked their way in by sucking up to Chesterton, and when he was ousted while on his annual holiday in South Africa, Tyndall was able to take control, in 1972. At around this time the Front was gaining many members, who were more extreme Tories than neo-Nazis. For a time the organisation tried to develop a kind of "populism" to augment its racialist appeals; and even unseated Tyndall for a while. However, a bit more politicking and the erstwhile popularists left to form the National Party, which got nowhere, and the old crew were back in control, where they have been since.

The Front's success has always been with crude racism. Here I am using "success" to mean increased membership and election scores. However, the membership is ephemeral. As Walker says, it "is rather like a bath with taps running and the plug hole empty. Members pour in and out. Although some 20,000 people went through the NF in 1974, the stable membership was about 12,000." And most of these members were "poor grade". There is an inherent contradiction for authoritarian groups like this. How can you expand your membership and still remain an elite? The tactic is to keep the elite (i.e. you) at the centre and use the rest as political fodder. Naturally they soon get pissed off and leave. The election success is also fleeting, mainly in local elections. The book catalogues a series of peaks, followed immediately by a slump back to the original levels. Despite occasional election "successes" (say more than 10 per cent of the poll) only once has a Front candidate recovered his deposit in a parliamentary election (in West Bromwich in 1973). Yet despite this, the Front is, in electoral terms, the fourth party and provides serious competition for the Liberals in attracting protest votes. High points for the NF have always been when there is a racist issue to exploit. Their real break

through came with the Ugandan Asians and has been buttressed by similar issues at intervals. The problem is that their appeal has continually been dissipated as both Labour and Conservative governments have brought in increasingly repressive legislation on racial matters. They are now only left with their bedrock (short of genocide, which they don't publicly advocate), — compulsory "repatriation."

Tyndall and the rest have made little secret of their opinions, and they're all there in the book. They simply hate blacks as much as they hate everybody, although they are prepared to get on with Right Wing Tories, Monday Clubbers, etc.

Walker offers little theorising. He says that he is glad not to have written a "sociological tract." I feel that some aspects of that, such as an index and bibliography, would have been helpful. He does give a last chapter to speculation. He disagrees with Trotsky's theory that in a revolutionary situation of economic collapse, etc. the outcome will be decided by whether the petite bourgeoisie swing behind a left "vanguard" or behind a right wing party manipulated by capitalists, although the Front do seem to see it in essentially those terms (they recognise the evils of capitalism and consider that the world is dominated by a Wall Street/Moscow conspiracy). Accurate, if limited) and are busily eroding the two party system to that end.

In the end he feels that the Front can only be stopped by the "Labour Movement", while acknowledging that the "front line" in this, the constituency Labour parties and Labour councils, are "ill equipped" to carry the burden. Once again Walker reveals his ambivalence. Apparently he continues to vote Labour, despite recognising its "betrayals" because he feels that not to do so would itself be a "betrayal of my upbringing." Evils like exploitation and racism are symptoms and will only disappear when the underlying disease is cured. Mr. Walker and his fellow liberals may soon have the opportunity to discover that "respectable" political parties can be just as authoritarian, using legislation like the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Criminal Trespass Act. In the mean time this book remains a valuable factual account of the most blatant aspect of these tendencies in Britain today.

DAVID PEERS

VICTIMS OF FORCED BUSING AWAKE!

BUSING WILL TURN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS INTO A

SAVAGE JUNGLE

BUSING BRUTALIZES PRODUCTIVE, CIVILIZED STUDENTS WITH A WAVE OF

- CRIME
- EXTORTION
- RAPE
- CANNABALISM

FORCED BUSING HAS LED TO A SHOCKING INCREASE IN INTERRACIAL SEX



The result of forced busing

FORCED BUSING WILL RESULT IN A RACE OF MULATTOES

An example of racist propaganda, in fact from America, 1969.